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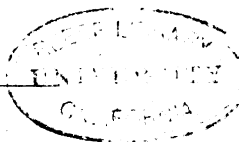




QUESTIONS OF THE DAY. No. LVIII.

POLITICS AS A DUTY
AND
AS A CAREER

BY
MOORFIELD STOREY.



NEW YORK & LONDON
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POLITICS AS A DUTY AND AS A CAREER.

THE duty of educated men to take part in politics has been the subject of many a college oration. Many a generous young man has dreams of an honorable public career, and sees himself in imagination filling the highest offices in the nation, commanding "the applause of listening senates," or holding the helm of state in some great crisis of his country's fate. It is easy to be eloquent about duty in the abstract. It is fatally easy to dream; but it is better worth while to consider the practical questions, how can this duty be performed,—how can these dreams be realized?

The duty of an educated man was never clearer than now. Government by the people cannot succeed unless all the people take part in it. In the material world, a body pushed by different forces yields something to each and moves on a line which is the resultant of them all. The law of progress is the same in morals as in physics. No class in the community can expect that the world will move exactly on the

line which they would prescribe, nor is any man or body of men entitled to control. Each is entitled to his just weight, and this is exactly what he owes to his country. If a citizen does not use his influence,—if he ceases to exert his force, the resultant is deflected against him, and the line of progress is changed. The greater any man's education and opportunity,—the greater the power which he can exercise, the greater his obligation. "Unto whomsoever much is given of him shall be much required." Free government must fail if the men best fitted to direct it refuse to do their part, and leave the work to be done by the ignorant or the base. The complex problems of modern society are worthy of the best thought and the best effort of the best men in the community, and cannot be solved without their aid. A republic cannot succeed if it becomes an oligarchy of "bosses" and their satellites.

The immigration of every year adds to the mass of poverty and ignorance in our country. The foreigners who seek our shores know little of our society, our methods, our history, or the traditions of our government. Their prejudices, their habits of thought, their entire unfamiliarity with American questions—in a word, their whole past, unfit them to take an intelligent

part in our political contests, yet in a few years they become citizens and their votes in the ballot-box count as much as our own. Their presence in our large cities has made the problem of municipal government infinitely more difficult, and they are to-day the most dangerous element in our body politic. When our reconstruction acts gave the right of suffrage to the colored race in the South, the strain proved too great, and while the forms of free government have been preserved, its essential principles have been violated. If the control of the government passes into the hands of the ignorant, civilization is in danger, and intelligence is forced to regain the supremacy even by revolutionary methods if necessary. These ignorant voters, wherever they are found, are the natural prey of the demagogue and the corrupt politician. As they increase in numbers their prejudices are certain to be consulted by party leaders, and the tone of political discussion sinks lower and lower. Our most recent experience has shown us how possible it is that the policy of this country on a great economic question may be determined for years by a few thousand votes bought in the slums of a great city, or by some perfectly immaterial episode like Lord Sackville's letter. The only cure for the evils which spring from ignorance is ed-

ucation. We must either raise the lowest classes in the state or they will drag us down. If we would not be governed by the leaders of Tammany Hall, we must reach their followers and lead them ourselves. The more difficult the task, the more it demands the attention of educated men.

Nor can any one now say, as many have said in the past, that bad government does not affect him. The questions between labor and capital between great corporations and the communities which they serve, between the public and the rights of private citizens are vitally interesting to us all. When a wave of popular excitement induces legislation which cripples railroads every man and woman who owns a share of stock feels the loss of dividends. If the strike on the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy railroad had extended to other systems, as at one time seemed probable, whole districts would have found themselves suffering for the necessities of life, and it is impossible to estimate the loss which the community would have sustained. Changes in the tariff made hastily or unwisely may mean ruin to many enterprises. A blind adherence to the protective policy may cause a general business depression with widespread financial disaster. The "spoils system" makes

One hundred thousand men in office dependent on the smiles of political patrons, and turns perhaps a million more into office-seekers. The misgovernment of a great city comes home to every citizen in heavy taxes, bad drainage, dirty streets, and perhaps in epidemic disease. We may refuse to do our duty, but we cannot escape the consequences. Not only justice to our fellows but a proper regard for our own interest makes it imperative that every one should attend to the business of the firm in which, whether he will or not, he must be a partner.

But the question is, How? For many years the answer has been, "Attend the primary meetings." This concise formula contains the essence of political orthodoxy as taught by high authorities. Somewhat amplified it means that every man must attach himself to some political party, and must work through its organization; that in order to exert his just influence he must attend the first caucus of voters, and labor to secure the election of good representatives to the convention which is to nominate alderman, congressman, governor, or president, and to formulate the statement of the party's principles. Thus, to the extent of his personal vote and influence, he shapes the course of his party.

It is an accepted dogma of this political creed

Duties

that a man must never leave his party. He must struggle to keep it honest and pure, but if he fails he must not abandon it, since parties are essential to free government. The extreme advocates of this doctrine sometimes liken a party to an army, and say that as a soldier must never desert, no matter how incompetent his general or how flagitious the cause, so he who has once joined a party must never leave it, unless indeed he has changed his views and joins the opposite party.

From the army also is adopted the rule that political preferment is won by party service. Beginning as a private, the aspirant by faithful attendance at primary meetings and service at
 2 the polls on rallying committees, wins the right
 3 to be chosen a delegate to some convention, next becomes a member of some ward or town committee, and thus acquires "claims" upon his party. These claims are rewarded by a nomi-
 4 nation to municipal office, and this reward, by a doctrine very popular with claimants, becomes itself the foundation of fresh "claims," which are increased by each successive payment, until after sitting in the Legislature or in Congress, the faithful servant of his party,—and himself,—may fairly aspire to the Governorship, the Senate, or the Cabinet, whence the last and

highest step seems easy. There are many who still claim that in this way only can the citizen at once discharge his political duty, and win political distinction.

This system has been tried faithfully and has proved a failure. However well suited to periods of strong excitement when some important question has stirred the people deeply,—when a party formed for some great purpose is still young and its members are willing to sink their personal preferences and ambitions for the good of the common cause, it has been found absolutely ineffectual in ordinary times to secure simply honest government.

It is impossible to secure the full attendance at primary meetings, without which the system cannot succeed. It is idle to argue that this is due to laziness and indifference, and that these should be discouraged. We must look the facts in the face. The primary meeting in a small community, where every individual knows every other, is a very different gathering from the primary meeting in a large city ward, where men meet each other without previous acquaintance, and therefore without organization. Experience has shown that a few professional politicians can easily control such a gathering for their own ends, and that nothing can defeat

them except equal organization among other citizens, which with the constantly changing population of any city district it is practically impossible to maintain. We must deal with men as we find them in practical every-day life, lazy, tired, indifferent, otherwise occupied, as they are sure to be, and not with citizens of Utopia. A system which only ideal men can make successful must at once be discarded. As a means of doing the citizen's political duty,—of securing his proper influence, attendance at the primary meetings may be pronounced a failure.

Nor is this method satisfactory as a means of realizing political ambitions. He who adopts it must comply with its conditions. If he enters the service of a party, and especially if he is dependent on obtaining and holding office for his living, he ceases to be a free man. The salaries of minor offices are small, and as one rises in the service increasing pay is balanced by increasing expense. If one is to succeed in + politics as a business, he must make it a business. If his title to office rests upon his "claims" as a party man, he must see that these claims cannot be questioned, and never falter in his zeal, no matter how distasteful to him his party's platform or candidate may be.

No man who is not pecuniarily independent should for a moment think of a political career under such conditions. If his livelihood depends on his retaining elective office, he cannot be his own master unless he is stronger than the majority of his kind. When a legislator feels that his living depends on his gaining the labor vote, or the temperance vote, or the anti-Chinese vote, he is as much a slave as was the customs-house officer, who, to the demand that he should support the King's policy, replied: "I have fourteen reasons for obeying his Majesty's command: a wife and thirteen small children."

Why is it that, out of twelve Massachusetts representatives in Congress, eight this year have declined renomination? Among them are men in the prime of life, men who are pecuniarily independent, men whose re-election would have been certain, men who have reached the position of leaders and whose political futures seemed bright. We cannot close our eyes to the facts. The conditions of society have changed. The prizes of life are no longer political. The methods by which in most cases nominations are obtained and elections carried are inevitably distasteful to a sensitive man. The question whether this or that disaffection or petty intrigue is likely to alienate supporters in one

corner of the district; the alleged necessity of furnishing the funds with which to unify the undisciplined but enthusiastic adherents of another; the constant visits of mysterious demagogues professing friendship and therefore to be treated politely, but whose hints it is difficult to misunderstand; the attacks on public and private character; the whole strain, discomfort, and noise of the campaign, with the alternate tales of hope and fear which entertain the candidate during the entire canvass—might perhaps be endured, if the victim could anticipate a brilliant career in office. When, however, he finds himself in Congress unable to accomplish any thing, fettered by legislative rules so framed that the measures which he has studied never come up for consideration, constrained by his party associates to adopt a course which his judgment and perhaps his conscience do not approve, or else to lose the party standing upon which his advancement depends, and asked to spend much of his time in doing private errands for his constituents, it is not strange if he doubts whether the place which it is so disagreeable to get is not even more disagreeable to hold. If to these evils is added pecuniary anxiety, the feeling that his salary is not sufficient to meet the reasonable expenses of life in office, and yet that

sity to lose the office is for a while at least to be
 stranded until some professional or business
 position can be established, the full misery of a
 successful politician's life may be partly appre-
 ciated. X

If legislative office is unattractive, executive
 position is hardly less so. The tenure, even of
 the higher offices, is brief, the emolument small,
 the work often mere routine which unfits the
 holder for unofficial life, the chance of promo-
 tion slight. Except where the civil-service law
 applies and is honestly enforced, faithful ser-
 vice in office affords no assurance of continued
 employment, and the office-holder lives with
 the axe hanging over his head, never sure that
 he will not find himself thrown upon the world
 without warning, when perhaps age, or sickness,
 or domestic burdens make him least able to
 shift for himself. If his office is so high that
 he has the control of appointments, he is
 harassed by incessant importunity from office-
 seekers and their patrons, and whenever he fills
 a place he makes, like the French statesman,
 many enemies and "one ingrate."

Such are some of the thorns which beset the
 path of the successful politician. We need
 not dwell upon the other side of the picture.
 There is no more hopeless wreck than he who

has lost the game, and who finds himself in old age shorn of place and power, and living upon the hope of obtaining some petty office through the favor of old associates, who are glad to escape his importunities by exercising an easy benevolence, expensive only to the public.

In short the orthodox method fails, whether we merely wish to do our duty, or are seeking an avenue to distinction. By this, however, it is not meant that caucuses are never useful, or that office should be refused. Organization is essential, and without it nothing valuable in politics can be accomplished. What is here condemned is the teaching which exalts the organization at the expense of the purpose for which it is formed, which makes office-holding a business, and party success the end and not the means.

What then is the true doctrine? Is there no way in which the citizen can do his duty? Is there no legitimate political career? Certainly there are, and here as elsewhere "the path of duty is the way to glory."

+ The rules are simple. No man should choose politics as a profession with a view to earning his livelihood. He should regard political action rather as a part of his daily business, like the care of his family. A part of his time is

hen devoted to supporting himself, a part to his family life, and a part to the general concerns of the community in which he lives.

A man should take part in politics not for what he can get but for what he can do. He should study the political conditions of his time, either alone or better still with others, and make up his mind what legislation, what reform, what governmental action of any kind is needed, and then use his influence to secure it. His influence will be slight if he confines himself to voting and occasionally attending a caucus. The complex problems of modern life require constant study from him who would master them, and this study is much facilitated by clubs or associations meeting at regular intervals throughout the year. It cannot be postponed to the period of excitement preceding an election. That is no time for weighing evidence, for collating facts and determining policies. It is the time for action, and for this the citizen should make his preparation in the months of leisure before the contest begins. Political conclusions must be the result of cool and deliberate reflection, if they are to bear the test of discussion.

When a conclusion has been reached as to what is needed, there should follow an earnest

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effort to educate and arouse public opinion. For this the Press affords the amplest facilities. Through articles in newspapers and magazines the facts can be published, the arguments presented, and the fullest light poured upon any subject. Public meetings, addresses, lectures, and a hundred other methods of creating public opinion may be used with great effect by organizations which are numerically small. Some years ago the president of a Civil-Service Reform organization near Boston, an honorable merchant who was interested in the cause but was not familiar with the details of the movement, asked at an annual meeting of the association: "How many Civil-Service Reform clubs are there in Massachusetts?" He was told that there were some six or seven. "Is that all?" said he. "Why, from the noise you have been making, I supposed there was an active club in every city, town, and village in the State."

Public opinion governs the country, and he who would help to govern must seek to arouse and guide public opinion. It is not enough, however, to awaken a general demand for a reform. It is also necessary to devise a practical method by which the reform can be secured. To do this involves thought and study and requires time, and these can best be contributed

by organizations of private citizens, which can be more permanent and better capable of persevering in the pursuit of a single object than ordinary legislatures. X

Legislative bodies the world over are showing an increasing inability to legislate. A constantly changing body of men, chosen for short terms and acting of necessity through committees, oppressed by a mass of public and private business, and crippled by the difficulty of reconciling the right of the minority to speak with the right of the majority to act, baffled at every turn by some new form of obstruction made possible by a strict construction of parliamentary rules, and rendered irresolute by the timidity of members anxious for re-election who see less danger in procrastination than in action,—is not fitted to deal with novel questions, or to transact wisely any but routine business. The English Parliament and the French Assembly fail as completely as the American Congress. There is in each more manœuvring for political advantage, than earnest effort to consider and determine public questions with regard solely to the public interest. One might be pardoned sometimes for reminding their leaders that the country has some rights which a party is bound to respect. X

In such a body delay is inevitable. No business of importance can be done until a committee has considered and acted upon it. It takes time to appoint a committee. In selecting it geographical and political considerations have great weight, so that many of its members bring to the consideration of the questions referred to it no antecedent knowledge or special fitness to deal with them. Each member has other committees, and their work demands a share of his time. The daily sessions of the legislature to which he belongs, other public business, the claims of society and his own private business require his attention, so that amid these conflicting engagements a single committee can sit perhaps once or twice a week and for one or two hours at a time. Before a committee dealing with an unfamiliar subject and able to spend little time in considering it, can mature and report a bill, the session is far advanced and in the struggle for consideration between many different measures, it is very easy to postpone. The next week, the next session, the next Congress seem to offer golden opportunities, and when they are reached they are as crowded as their predecessors. As the White Queen said to Alice: "The rule is, jam yesterday and jam tomorrow,—but never jam to-day."

Examples of this tendency to delay are only too abundant. An interstate commerce bill was first introduced some fourteen years before the measure was passed. The French Claims have been before Congress for nearly a century, and grandsons now rely on tradition to prove the facts which were bitter realities to their ancestors. Not long ago a private bill was reached on the Senate calendar. A Senator asked that it might go over till he could examine it. The Senator in charge of the bill replied sadly: "I introduced that bill when I first entered the Senate, some eleven years ago. I have introduced it in every Congress since. It has always been reported favorably by the committee, but whenever it has been reached for consideration some Senator has wished time to examine it, as my friend does now. *It may go over.*"

Thousands of private claimants have grown old and died while waiting for justice. Let one illustration serve. Some twenty-three years ago there came to Washington a man in the prime of life, with a considerable fortune, seeking to have his title to certain lands confirmed against a rival claimant. Last winter an acquaintance after a few moments' conversation with him said to another "I have just left the happiest man in Washington." "What makes him so happy?" was

the natural question. "Senator A. has just told him that the committee will probably report a bill sending his case to the Court of Claims." He was old and poor, and all the years and money which he had spent had secured him the probability that Congress might be advised to give him a chance to be heard by a court of justice, yet this slight ray of hope made him supremely happy. As the Scottish innkeeper, who had inherited from his grandfather a "ganging plea" about his backyard, said to the Antiquary: "It is a beautiful thing to see how lang and how carefully justice is considered in this country." The delays which so impressed the Scotchman were those of courts. The legislature has found a way to diminish the delays of those who administer the law, but the physician has caught the disease.

X The remedy for this evil is to be found in the action of private citizens. They must devote the time and thought to public problems which public men find it so difficult to give. By acting together in associations formed for the purpose, they can gather and collate the facts, discuss the remedies, and finally frame the statute which shall secure what is needed. The proposed law can then be published so that the public may be made familiar with its pro-

visions, and any defect may be pointed out. When, after full discussion, the measure has received its final shape, the demand for reform has something tangible to present. Public opinion is crystallized and definite, and the bill comes to the Legislature with a power behind it which insures its adoption.

This method of political action by private citizens has been tested and found successful in securing administrative as well as legislative reforms. It was the action of private citizens in arousing and guiding public opinion which destroyed the Tweed Ring in New York, the most powerful combination of legislative, executive, and judicial power for dishonest ends that ever existed in this country, which drove the leading conspirators into prison or exile, and purified the Bench by impeaching Judge Barnard and compelling Judge Cardozo to resign in order to avoid a similar fate. When the campaign began it seemed impossible to overthrow the Ring. When the campaign was over it seemed impossible that the Ring should have been tolerated so long. The Committee of Fifty in Philadelphia, composed entirely of private citizens acting together for the public good, entirely reformed the government of that city, and controlled it in the public interest for

years. The Independent movement in Baltimore, though less completely successful at first, has, in the judgment of every impartial spectator, achieved most brilliant results, as perhaps its bitterest enemies now realize, when they contemplate some conspicuous victims of the recent election in Maryland.

If the organization of citizens which did so much for the cause of good government in New York and Philadelphia could have been made permanent, the relapses which have occurred in both would have been prevented. It is easier to keep rogues out than to oust them when they are once entrenched in the government. The one requires steady watchfulness and sustained effort, the other almost a revolution. In every great city there is a body of men, whose business is to live upon the public. They have no share in the ambitions of the city, no part in its business or social life, no real stake in the community. They live only for themselves, and their object is plunder. In one city they assume the livery of the Democratic party, in another they call themselves Republicans, but they care nothing for the principles of either. Whatever their party name, their purposes and methods are the same, and they are well known to us all. Politics is their livelihood, and they

devote to it the same constant attention that a successful merchant or manufacturer gives to the conduct of his affairs. As our cities grow larger and richer the prizes of this calling grow greater, and more men are led to adopt it. They grow stronger and more numerous with every year of impunity, but their strength is more apparent than real, for fraud is never a match for honesty.

They are to-day a great power for evil, but sooner or later the community will realize that a city is a business corporation, and that its stockholders can no more afford to let such a corporation be managed by dishonest directors than a bank or a manufacturing company can afford to select its directors from the criminal classes. Whenever the public realizes this truth, this class of plunderers will disappear, but municipal governments can be kept honest only by just such an organization among honest citizens as now exists among their opponents, and only when the former are willing to consider it a part of their daily business to govern themselves and to give their time to this as to any other business. The action of private citizens has purified municipal government in the past, and we must look to it for like results in the future.

Associations of private citizens have proved

equally efficient in a wider sphere. The Civil-Service Reform law was drawn by men acting in no public capacity, and was carried through Congress by the pressure of public opinion. The record is eloquent. From 1872 to 1882 both parties had in their platforms again and again pledged themselves to civil-service reform. They adopted without hesitation resolutions drawn by its prominent advocates, and deluded them with the fairest promises. Not one of these promises was performed, and in the summer of 1882, when the Republicans had a large majority in the House of Representatives and the parties divided the Senate almost equally, the cause of civil-service reform seemed prostrate. The House contemptuously refused to vote the modest appropriation of twenty-five thousand dollars for the expenses of the Civil-Service Commission recommended by the President. Subsequently on the motion of Mr. Holman, a Democrat, the insufficient sum of fifteen thousand dollars was appropriated. During the same session, the Republican Congressional Committee, of which Mr. Jay Hubbell was the chairman, was openly soliciting and actually collecting assessments from office-holders to aid the party in the approaching campaign, and no Republican member of Congress raised his voice

in disapproval. The course of the party in power drove the friends of reform into open revolt. In some cases they supported the Democratic candidates, and in others, as in the Ninth District of Massachusetts, nominated an independent candidate. The elections resulted in the overwhelming defeat of the Republicans. The control of the House passed to the Democrats, and nowhere was the result more surprising and significant than in the two Massachusetts districts where the battle was fought directly on the issue of civil-service reform. In the Ninth District, where the Republican incumbent had been elected in 1880 by a majority of 5,901, Theodore Lyman defeated him by a majority of 2,343, carrying twenty-seven towns by a majority of 2,990, while his defeated competitor carried only ten towns by a majority of 647. This surprising change was accomplished by the efforts of private citizens after a campaign of about three weeks in a strong Republican district. The facts shown by the record were published and placed in the hands of every voter, a few meetings were had, a portion of the press favored the revolt, and beyond these the only influence exerted was that of private citizens in conversation with their neighbors. In the

Fifth District the reformers threw their strength in favor of the Democratic candidate, who was triumphantly elected.

The verdict was not misunderstood in Congress. On December 4th, the opening day of the next session, a bill to prevent political assessments, and a bill for the better regulation of the civil service were introduced in the House, which by a two-thirds vote instructed the Committee on the Reform of the Civil Service to report a bill, which was done in about a week. On the next day, in both Senate and House, resolutions relating to the same subject were introduced. On the 7th, 8th, and 9th the subject of political assessments was debated in the Senate upon a resolution offered by Mr. Beck. On Monday, the 11th, the Pendleton bill was put in order for consideration, and on the 12th a debate upon it began, which continued from day to day until it was passed on the 27th by a vote of 38 to 5. A few days later, on January 4th, the bill was called up in the House, the previous question ordered, and the bill passed, after thirty minutes' debate, by a vote of 155 to 47. This bill made unlawful the system of political assessments, which a few months before had been in active operation, and it was framed on a theory which was exactly opposed

to the practice of those who voted for it. Such a sudden and complete conversion of a hostile Congress shows the power of public opinion, and the election of 1882 was a lesson in politics which every reformer should learn. He will find in it much to encourage him in times of despondency.

Nor is it by any means a solitary example. The Massachusetts statute was drawn by private citizens and passed by politicians in deference to a public demand which, with the experience of 1882 fresh in their minds, they did not dare to neglect. The battle for civil-service reform in Indiana, which ended the grossest abuses in the State Insane Asylum, was fought by private citizens. The laws which have improved the municipal government of New York, the new election law of Maryland, the Ballot Act passed by the last legislature of Massachusetts, are all examples of the way in which men who hold no office and only give a part of their time to public questions can help to govern their country. Other illustrations might easily be given, such as the movement for an international copyright, the limitations upon the power of cities to tax and to borrow, and, most conspicuous of all, the movement for tariff reform, which has been aided more than

will ever be known by a few men who have never held public office, and who have found time to study the facts and publish the results of their study only in the leisure moments of very busy lives. John Howard and Richard Cobden show what even a single citizen can accomplish by appealing to public opinion. "One man who is in earnest is a majority."

Here, then, is a field in which the citizen can do his full duty. The greater his ability and his leisure, the greater is his opportunity. Every one can do something, but he whom fortune has blessed with pecuniary independence can find in the study of political questions and the effort to arouse and guide public opinion the most interesting of occupations and the most useful of careers. In no other way can he win greater distinction.

For such a man the opportunity is never wanting. If he does not care to join in the half-won battles for civil-service reform and tariff reform, there is much in the mere methods of political action which invites attack. The use of money in political campaigns was never so great as now, and it is time that public opinion was aroused against it. A voter is a jurymen, who is bound to give an honest verdict on the questions at issue in any election. It is as

much a crime to bribe him as it is to bribe a juryman who sits in a court of justice. The corruption of the latter affects injuriously a single citizen, while corrupt voters injure all their fellow-citizens, and endanger the continuance of free government. But it is not the poor and ignorant men who are bought,—it is not even the corrupt politicians who distribute the money, against whom public opinion should be turned. These are the tools, and as long as there are men to use them, the supply of tools will not fail. Public opinion does not affect them so long as their employers are satisfied and outraged public sentiment does not take the concrete form of a policeman. The real offenders are the rich and respectable members of society who supply the money to accomplish a desired political result, who select unscrupulous men to spend it, and then shut their eyes. They are responsible for every disgraceful use to which their money is put. It is their demand which creates the supply of corrupt political managers. When such men are no longer wanted—when they can get no money to spend, they will sink into their native obscurity. A new Peter the Hermit is needed to preach a crusade against indiscriminate contributions for campaign purposes, who shall fearlessly place the responsibility for cor-

ruption where it belongs, and turn the force of public opinion upon those who will feel it. Let him follow the rule of the law: *Haud sectari rivulos sed petere fontes.*

✦ Whatever his field, however, let him who decides to seek a career in politics remember that in such a career office is an accident, and not an end. When he has made himself the exponent of a cause, or has shown conspicuous ability to deal with some public question, he may find himself called to office, but the office is only an opportunity,—a position of advantage from which to carry on the battle. In so doing he may incur odium, and may lose his office, but he should not therefore abandon the fight. “Her Majesty’s Opposition” is as necessary to good government as the Ministerial Bench. It is not success to be on the winning side. It is not success to get and keep office, if only the incumbent of the office is profited thereby. Nor is success to be determined by the issue of this or that election, or the results of a single decade.

“And some innate weakness there must be
In him who condescends to victory
Such as the Present gives, and cannot wait,
Safe in himself as in a fate.”

✦ It is success to fight bravely for a principle, even if one does not live to see it triumph.

"'T is not the grapes of Canaan that repay,
But the high faith that failed not by the way."

He who would take part in politics, whether he merely wishes to do his duty, or desires a brilliant career, must learn to wait. He must plant himself on the historical standpoint and not expect to accomplish great results in a single campaign. When Fremont was defeated it seemed to many as if the cause of freedom was lost forever, but in less than ten years slavery had ceased to exist. In 1864 many believed the war a failure, and a great party so pronounced it, but in a few months came Appomattox. When Hannibal was at the gates of Rome few of its citizens could look forward to Zama. The strong forces in human society are truth and courage, and they are sure to triumph in any contest with fraud and error, though it may take long to win the victory. No one doubts this as an abstract proposition. Why can we not believe it practically with all human experience to confirm our faith?

Political progress is a slow process of growth. It is the result of educating a whole community. For a while it seems as if nothing were accomplished; but constant, patient effort gradually prepares the public mind, and finally some trifling circumstance, some peculiarly clear case

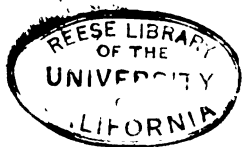
of abuse, produces a popular outburst, and thenceforth the path of reform is easy.

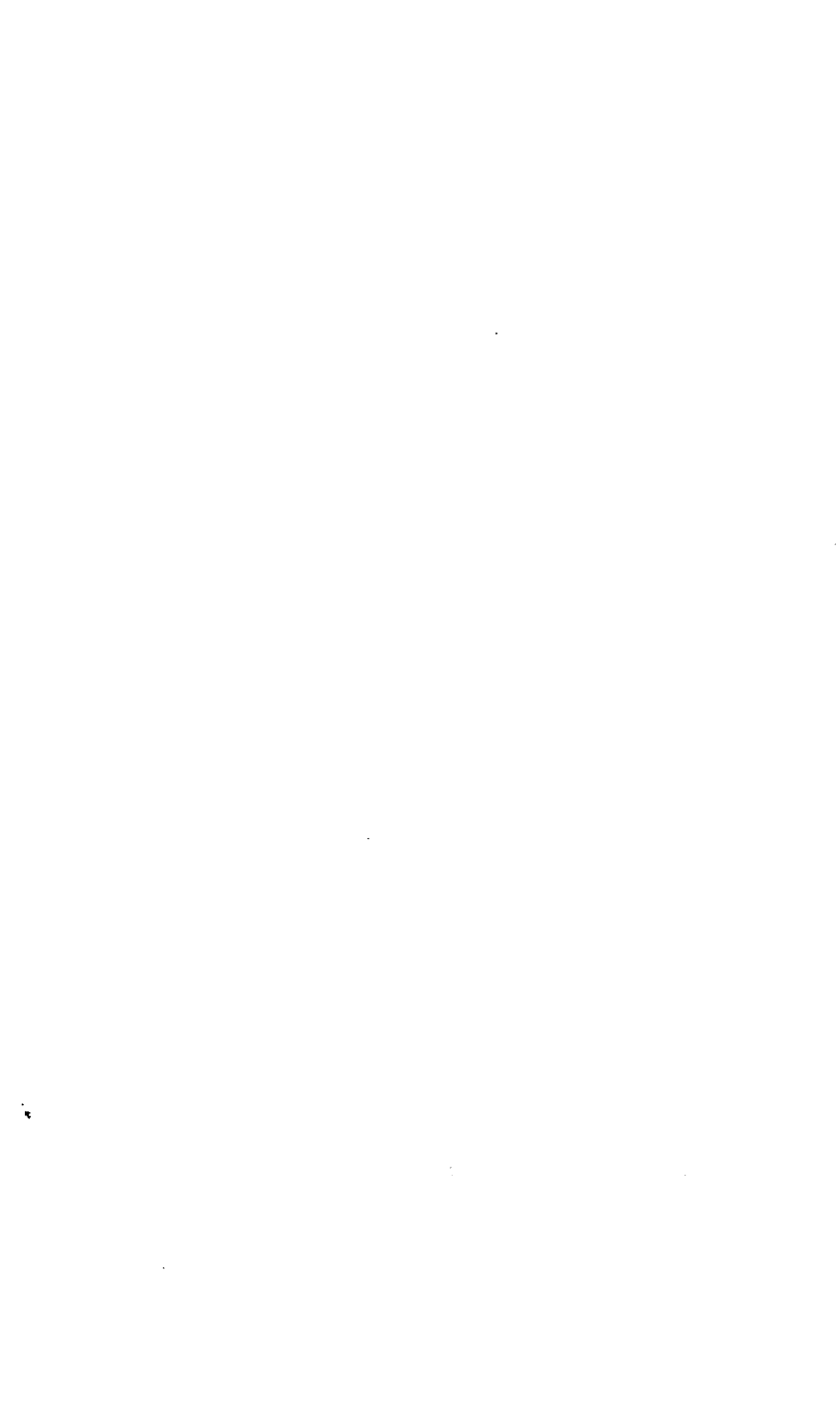
At such a crisis the man who has long been identified with an unpopular cause may suddenly find himself a leader, and perhaps compelled by public demand to take office. If he regards it as an opportunity and continues the fight all the more vigorously, his future is secure. If he falters and compromises with his principles for fear of losing his popularity and his office, he learns to realize the truth of the stern text: "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it." Our national pathway is lined with the graves of men who have failed at the supreme moment and have died repeating that "Republics are ungrateful," when to them at least their republic has been only just.

Every citizen who honestly studies the political questions of his time will reach definite conclusions as to how those questions should be dealt with. If he will endeavor actively to have them settled as he thinks they should be, and will give to the work a very moderate portion of his leisure throughout the year, he will not only do his duty as a citizen, but he will be surprised at the interest which he takes in the work and at the results which are accomplished. He will find that his horizon is broadened and

his whole life made fuller and richer. This is in itself a sufficient reward, if he wins no other. But if he is only true to principle, sooner or later his fellow-citizens will demand his service. If he is fitted to fill office the office will seek him. The highest type of the citizen is Cincinnatus. In the words of Heraclitus, which are as true in politics as in every other human pursuit: "Character is destiny."

THE END.





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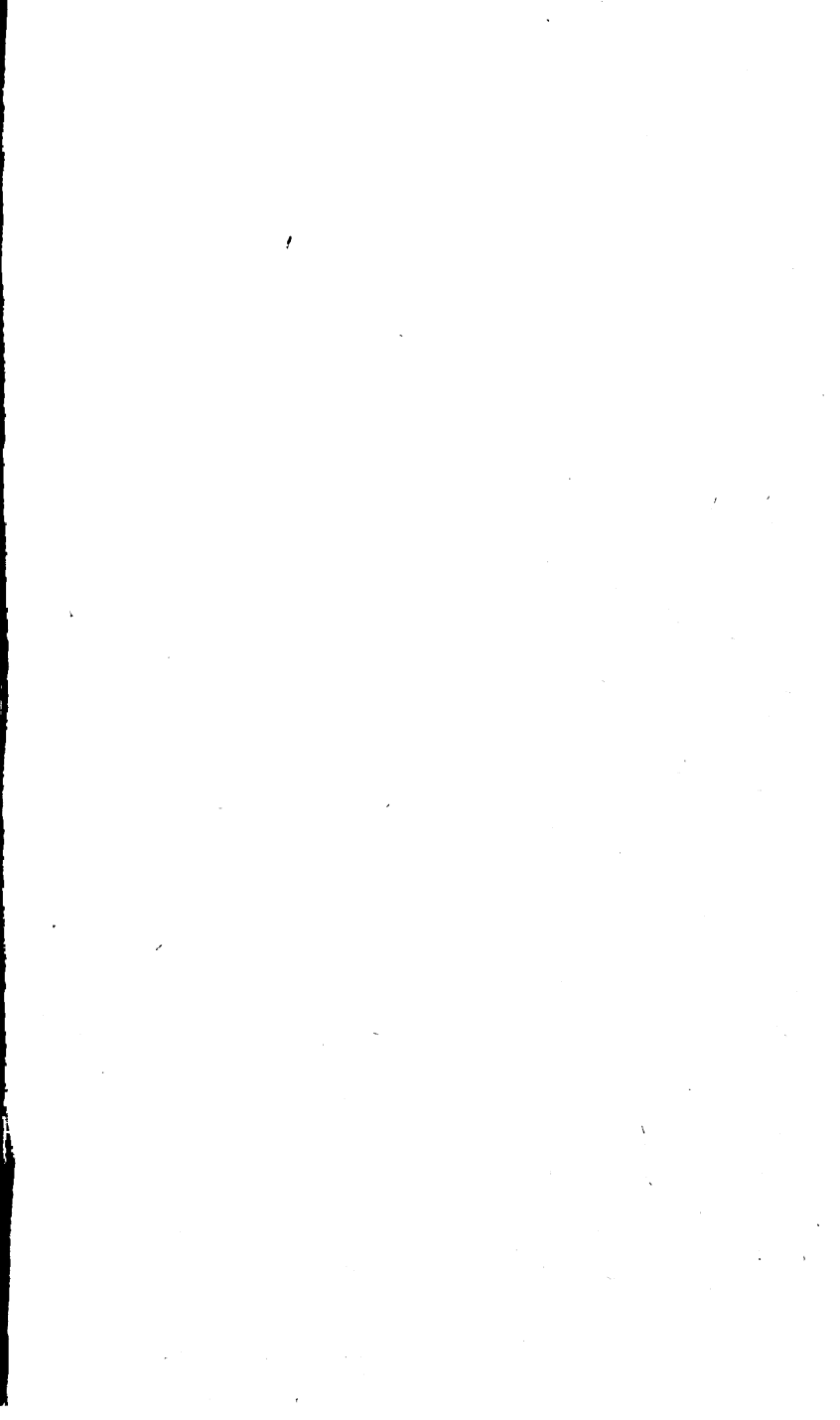
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